

THE
ADVISE
OF
Charles the Fifth,
Emperor of *GERMANY,*
AND
KING
OF
SPAIN,
To his Son
Philip the Second;
Upon his Resignation of the
Crown of *SPAIN* to
his said Son.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *H. Mortlock*, at
the Sign of the White Hart
in *Westminster-Hall*. 1670.

THE
ADD VICE

OF
Charles the Fifth
Emperor of Germany

KING

OF
SPAIN

Philip the Second

His Majesty's Secretary of State

London 1580

Printed by I. W. at the Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church

in the Strand

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TO THE
READER.



Long preface to a
little book, is a
Giants head, on a
Pigmies shoulders :
This shall be so short, as not to
spend a line in promising bre-
vity. The following discourse
really contains Magnum in
parvo ; being of small bulk,
but treating of the greatest
Subject, Government: to Au-
thorize it, I name the Author
A 3 Charles

To the Reader.

Charles the fifth Emperour of Germany, and King of Spain. That he was a person of as exalted reason as quality; One Argument pertinent to the matter in hand shall serve, instar omnium, that in the height of prosperity, and flourishing in reputation, He resigned his Crowns to enjoy himself.

That the day after his resignation, was the first of his repentance, will appear to them who weigh the grandure of his Spirit, and actions, a saying of more sharpness than solid truth; and Calculated to the Meridian of their thoughts, who admiring Crowns they never possess, make their passions the measure of other mens Actions; and conclude no man can willingly

To the Reader.

lingly part with what they so
vehemently desire. But the Ge-
nius of Charles having attain-
ed these altitudes others aspire
to, as the Ne plus ultra of hu-
mane happiness; quitted them
to mount into a higher sphere.
The Roman Empire ruined,
(as it raised) it self, and ha-
ving awed all forreign hostili-
ties into subjection, or alliance;
Employed against it self, the
strength and reputation of its
Arms; which had not left in
the world an Enemy that de-
served the honour, of falling by
so vast a Power. Charles the
fifth held it Greater Glory to
Conquer himself, than the Na-
tions he had subdued: and find-
ing no Antagonist worthy his
encounter, like the Roman
State,

To the Reader.

State, turned his force against himself; but with this difference, that the Romans by Civil War, destroyed their Empire; Charles by conquering himself, in vanquishing those ambitious passions which reign over Kings, and have Emperors their vassals; by retyring from the Throne into an Ermitage, obtained a Crown more Glorious than that he resigned: having divested himself of temporal honours, to fit himself for investiture in Cælestial Dignities.

But admitting that saying as true, as 'tis smart and piquante; and that he quitted his Crowns, for fear of losing them; it derogates not from the authority of his discourse, nor diminishes
the

To the Reader.

the reputation of his wisdom. For if he had Cause to fear the loss of his Crown, it argues greater prudence, by resignation to make an happy Exit in full felicity; than to outlive his happiness, by seeing his Scepter wrested out of his hand; and the glorious day of his splendid triumphs, ending in the dismal Storms of War with his Son, like a new Phaeton juggling his Father out of the throne.

The Discourse is of Government, but presumes not to instruct our Governours; and thought it may please the humour of the times, where Subjects are more inquisitive into the duties of Sovereigns, than careful to practise their own, reader

To the Reader.

readier to learn what Princes ought to do, then to perform what Liegemen are bound to: and like the Scribes and Pharises in Moses seat, study Law and policy, to teach others, not themselves. 'Tis published to do it right, as worthy of publick view, and for publick advantage; For 'tis with men in society, as with figures in Arithmetique; they receive their value from the place they stand in: but authority though it enlargeth the influence, doth not change the nature of persons; as the figure that signifies a million, is the same as when it denotes One; the greatest Kingdom, is but a Society made up of individuals, as the greatest numbers are composed of the

To the Reader.

the Digits, and the hugest volumes of the Letters of the Alphabet. The Emperour and his Subjects, being a grand Corporation, as a Major and Commonalty are a lesser, which resolves into that of Masters and Families; and they consist of particular persons, whereof every one is a Corporation in himself; as made up of a mind to govern, and a body to obey. 'Tis a maxime in Philosophy *Simplicia Compositis priora*: And the model of Civil Government, was taken from the natural, where the Soul is sovereign to direct and command; and the affections and members, are subjects to obey and execute. Thus private men are Princes; and have a harder Province,

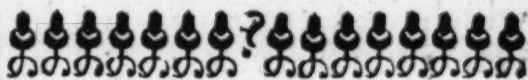
To the Reader.

vince, than the greatest Sovereigns: for those lusts and passions which are private mens Subjects, have reigned over Sovereigns, and conquered Conquerors, who bridled Nations, and governed the greatest Communities.

These are advises to Govern a Kingdom; but by the trick of Mutatis Mutandis, what was designed only for John at Noke, may be fitted for John at Styles: and what Charles delivered for a direction to order States, may serve you for instruction to govern your self.

THE

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THE
A D V I C E
OF

Charles the Fifth,
Emperour of *GERMANY,*

To his Son

Philip the Second,
King of *Spain:*

Upon the Resignation of his
Hereditary Crownsto
his said Son.

Most dear Son,

NO Jewels appear so glori-
ous as those that embel-
lish the Crowns of Princes :
Soveraignty is the Mistress to
B which

which the Greatest Spirits devote their Services; Making the Universe a Theatre of Heroick Actions, to Justifie their Title to the Dignity they Affect. This hath made the Regal State an Object of Veneration or Envy to all Inferiours; and given cause to Kings to think the Earth a Stage too narrow whereon to display the Beams of their Majesty, and the Prerogatives of that Condition which hath no Equal under the Sun. This hath raised Ambition to that height, that Men trample on all Rights, Civil or Sacred, that obstruct their passage to the Throne: And even devalue themselves of Humanity, in offering violence to the Law

of Nature, that they may with more security put on and wear the Royal Purple; sacrificing the Lives of nearest Relations to the Interest of the Crown. Hence it is that the Examples of Quitting Crowns, and Resigning Scepters, are so rare, that succeeding Ages entertain the Relation thereof as Fancies, rather than Historical Truths. So natural to Man is the thirst of Independant Freedom, that the Quitting of that which all desire to enjoy, seems a Paradox not to be esteemed true in any Case, but Theirs, who by their incapacity to use that Excellent Priviledge, are unworthy to enjoy it; or by pretending a Voluntary Resignation, I think

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to palliate their Weakness, and hide their Disability to hold that Scepter, which if not yielded, would be wrested from them. Like those vain Sophists, who decried Riches, not out of a real Contempt of them, but because they wanted them, and knew not how to gain them.

The value of Gifts depends much on the Knowledge or Ignorance of the Donor, in proportion to which, it rises and falls : The most magnificent Present from the hand of him that esteems it mean, becomes common, and lays on the Receiver an Obligation not answerable to the intrinsic value of the Gift, but suitable to the Estimat of the Giver

Giver, which like the Princes Stamp, often makes the same Piece Currant, at a higher and lower Rate : A Wedge of Gold bestow'd by an American, who thinks Glass more precious, deserves only the small Acknowledgements due for a Present of Glass, not of Gold. What I have said of the Excellency of the Regal State, infers not an Alteration of my declared Resolution to Resign my Diadems to you ; but that as you shall receive a Gift of the Greatest Magnitude, it comes from my hand, who perfectly know the transcendant value of what I give. And that you may see your Obligations to me, as my Bounty to you, equally super-

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lative ;

lative ; and read my Excess of Kindness for your Person, and high esteem of your Abilities in the Character of that Love which hath engag'd me freely to transfer from my self to you the Supreme Authority, to which the Greatest Persons in past Ages, have aspired with that Ardency, and possessed with that Jealousie, that Sons, Fathers, and Brothers fell Victims to their Passions, for Gaining or Keeping the Throne ; though they, if divested of that Sovereign Dignity, would have redeemed with their own, the Lives of their Relations.

That no Man Resigns the Royal Power, but for Incapacity to manage, or Fear to lose it,

it, will be henceforth listed in the Catalogue of Vulgar Errors, upon the convincing Evidence of my single Instance; who can without Vanity call *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*; and *America*, to testify my Ability to sway and keep the Scepter in my hands; having fix'd so many recent Trophies of Conduct and Valour in these parts of the World, that the Antipodes must be searched to find out an Enemy who may dare to attack that Person, whose Prudence and Prowess have gain'd him the Honour to be rank'd amongst the greatest Heroes.

Animals arrived at the years of maturity, are naturally inclin'd to preserve their Species

cies by Propagation, and delight in the Productions of their kind : It is my desire, and will be my greatest pleasure, to see the exercise of these great Politique Vertues conspicuous in my Actions, continued by you ; and to behold my Qualities and Dignities, as well as my Person, survive my self in you the Image of my Person, the actual Heir of my Dignities, and emulous Imitator of my Examples.

The Sun, who in his Meridian - Chariot guilds the World with glorious Beams, equally admirable as profitable to the Universe, withdraws at Night to rest in the Curtains of his beloved *Thetis* ; that Mortals, who prize good things

things more by Privation than
 Fruition of them, may be
 taught by the Darkness that
 ensues his Retirement, to wish
 for and receive his morning
 Light with due Respect : I
 am now resolved to confine
 my self to the Privacies of a
 Religious House, that the sud-
 den Eclipse of a Person
 whose Influence hath made
 this Empire and other States to
 flourish many years, may cause
 them to fix their Eyes on you,
 as the Rising Sun; and with
 full Acclamations promise
 themselves from your good
 Government, the continuance
 of that Happiness they enjoy-
 ed under mine : And look up-
 on you, not as *Philip* the Son
 of *Charles*, but as *Charles* the

Fifth, revived like a Phoenix out of his own Ashes, to renew the course of his youthful Triumphs.

That you may answer their Expectations, before I Resign my Crowns into your hands, I shall give you some Directions, which you are to esteem as highly as these Diadems, which have derived their Majestique Lustre on my Head, from the Rules you shall receive, more than from those Orient Diamonds that adorn them.

'Tis not my Intention to mind you here of those Duties of Piety to God, Temperance, and Magnanimity in your Actions, and Justice to your Subjects; which are the
Basis

Basis of Thrones, and Pillars
 of Sovereignty : For that I
 am satisfied by your Practice,
 that you have heartily embrac-
 ed these Excellent Princi-
 ples of your Education: And
 that whether you converse
 with the present or past Ages,
 you cannot want frequent Ad-
 monitions by Men or Books,
 to urge the exercise of those
 Fundamental Vertues. My
 Design is, to commend to your
 Observation some Rules and
 Maximes which my Experi-
 ence, as Emperour and King of
Spain, hath confirmed useful
 in the Government of those
 States I shall Resign into your
 Hands. When you consider the nu-
 merous Dominions you are to
 succeed

succeed in, in *Spain, Flanders, Italy and Germany* ; with the different Constitutions and Inclinations of the People, the variety of their Laws and Politique Interests, you will presently conclude, That great Governments are great Burdens ; and the Prerogatives you enjoy above other Princes, are but Intimations and Marks of greater Cares and weightier Duties incumbent on you. The Cares of a Pilot are circumscrib'd within the narrow Compass of the Ship he guides ; but those of an Admiral extend to the whole Fleet : The vigilance of other Princes, like the single States they Rule, is short and narrow ; yours must be proportionable

tionable to your Dominions, dilated from East to West, and reach even to a New World. But that you may not be discouraged at the Troubles that attend your Greatness, Remember that as your Government is more Weighty and Large, so will your Glory be ; which will run parallel with your Cares, and make you Renowned in those Remote Regions where the Names of other Princes are never heard of.

To advise a Great Prince to be content with the Dominions he is born to, may seem absurd to them who judge Contentment a private Vertue only, and extol an Insatiable Ambition as the greatest Glory

ry of a King. But those Rules of Justice that prohibit Injuries between private Men, do so much the more oblige Princes not to violate the Rights of their weaker Neighbours, as the Consequences of their Actions are more generally fatal, involving not Families only, but Nations in Common Ruine; And as Princes, who are the Fountains, ought also to be the Examples of Justice to other Men. Besides, I look on the Empire as well'd to that Bulk, that to adde to it, were to cram meat into a full Stomach, which will not nourish the Body, but oppress the Concoctive Faculty, and render it incapable to digest the Aliment it had received before.

before. Sure I am, it will be more acceptable with God, and pleasing to men, for you to preserve the Grandeur of your Estates by good Government, than by a wilde Ambition of New Conquests, to hazard your Hereditary Crowns.

The Life of a Prince is like the Body of the Sun, which draws the Eyes of all Mortals towards him, and is as conspicuous as the Rays of Light. To think the bad Actions of a Prince can escape discovery, is to believe the Sun-Beams invisible. 'Tis beneath your Dignity to do any thing that may fear the Censure, or not abide the Test of the whole World. And when you reflect

flect upon the Jurisdiction of
 Princes, that it extends only
 to the Hands and Tongues,
 but reaches not the Thoughts
 and Conceptions of their Sub-
 jects, which are exempt from
 Earthly Powers, and triable
 in that Court only where the
 Gods of the Earth stand at the
 Bar to accompt for their Acti-
 ons, it will appear that though
 the bad Actions of a Prince
 may escape the Lash of his
 Subjects Tongues, and the
 violence of Revenge, they
 will be certainly Arraigned,
 Sentenc'd, and Condemned in
 their private Thoughts, which
 fear not the Rigor of Humane
 Laws, nor the Treacherous
 Malice of Informers. And
 the Sentences pronounced
 there,

there, will be readily executed, when a fit occasion promises Indempnity ; and with so much the more eagerness and virulency as their former fear to express their Grievances was great : Like hidden Fires, that burst forth in more violent Eruptions. The end of this Discourse, is, to persuade you to such a Comportment as becomes your Dignity, and may satisfy your People that they are happy under your Conduct, by the Protection and Security they receive from your Care and Vigilance, in recompence of those Duties of Subjection and Obedience they pay you. This will beget an intire Confidence on their part in your
Prudence

Prudence and Goodness, and establish your Throne in the Hearts and Affections of your People. And though it be much controverted whether Princes are more secure in the Love or Fear of their People, I commend it to you as my sense, That the security of Government depends more on the Love than Fear of the Subject: And take it as my Advice to choose the way of sweetness and Clemency to make your Throne durable, rather than that of Violence and Rigor, to render your self more absolute; but withal to entail the hatred of the People on your Posterity. How fatal it hath been to Princes to press their People with excessive

seve-

severities, appears by those Examples, where the Tyranny of the Old, forceth the People to entertain thoughts of New Masters; who are never wanting to invite them to Disloyalty, by Promises of Ease and better Usage: And the People, willing to believe what they passionately wish, are easily perswaded to change that Condition than which they think none can be worse.

It is a vain Opinion, That the Security of Governours consists in the Poverty or Slavery of their *People*, whom you must develt of Humanity, before you can render them senseless of those Pressures and Miseries that attend a needy and
fer-

servile Condition; nor is it
 possible for men under Pressures
 and Miseries, not to desire
 Ease and Happiness. And
 how frequent opportunities
 a Politique Body may have
 to attain their desires in this
 kind, is sufficiently illustrated
 by the hatred that attends
 Tyranny, the natural itch of
 Innovation, and Subtleties of
 Ambitious Men, who never
 fail to improve all occasions
 to raise their Fortunes on the
 Ruines of their Superiours.

It is the happiness of Prin-
 ces, that the things which na-
 turally procure the Love of
 the People, are also most wor-
 thy the practice of the Prince.
 And that it is their Interest to
 exercise those Vertues which
 they

they are obliged to embrace
 for their Native Beauty and
 Excellency, though Naked
 and Destitute of Forraign
 Advantages. What can more
 become a Prince, than the
 Religious observance of Faith,
 Continnence, and Justice? And
 what can more endear him
 in the Affections of his Peo-
 ple, than the practice of these
 Vertues, which will infallibly
 beget an intire Confidence in
 his Goodness, a hearty Kind-
 ness and Love for his Govern-
 ment, and a sincere Venera-
 tion and Reverent Regard for
 his Person and State: Faith
 in your proceedings, and keep-
 ing your Word, will gain Cre-
 dit to your Promises at home
 and abroad; and the respects
 due

due to a Generous and Noble
 Prince, whose Word hath
 some resemblance with that of
 God, which never deceives
 them that rely on it. Conti-
 nence will make your Person
 venerable ; and besides the in-
 fluence of your good Exam-
 ple will convince your People
 of the excellency of your Ver-
 tue , who being above the
 power of Law, are a Law to
 your self ; and by a voluntar-
 y Election and generous In-
 clination to Goodness, can
 keep within due bounds that
 unruly Passion which hath
 left a stain on the Names of
 the greatest Monarchs, and
 the Severity of Laws and Ri-
 gor of Punishments cannot
 regulate in meaner men ;
 whom

whom you can then freely re-
 prove of those Vices, which
 if guilty your self, you could
 not without Blushing rebuke
 in others. Your Justice will
 fill your Dominions with Men
 of Worth and Merit, who see-
 ing the Way to Honours and
 Preferments open only
 through the Temple of Ver-
 tue, will become Votaries to
 Goodness, that they may re-
 ceive from your Justice the
 Rewards due to excellent A-
 ctions, and escape those Pu-
 nishments and Disgraces your
 just Severity inflicts on Vice
 and Wickedness. These Ver-
 tues will implant in your Sub-
 jects Minds such Esteem for
 your Person, and Opinion of
 your Goodness, that when
 any

any miscarriage in Government happens by Injustice, or otherwise, they will impute it to the failings of your Ministers; Judging it as impossible for you to deviate from your Justice and Goodness, as the Sun to vary his constant Course.

The Affairs of Princes are divided between Peace and War, which have their particular Ways and distinct Rules of Management, and afford Occasions for the Exercise of different Vertues: It is the prudence of a Prince to make the one subservient to the other; and in the Sun-shine of Peace to provide for the Storms of War, which is a time of Expence, as the other

is of Gain : Both have proper
 and peculiar Arts, wherein
 the dexterity of a Prince is
 much seen, in using both to
 best advantage. And as the
 best end of War, is Peace ; so
 a wise Prince in the Securities
 of a deep Peace, hath War in
 prospect.

The certain Charge that
 attends the Conduct of great
 States, is so vast, and the E-
 mergencies that may require
 extraordinary Expence, so
 frequent and various, that
 Frugality and good Husban-
 dry justly claim an honourable
 place in the Quire of Royal
 Vertues, it being impossible
 to act those great things that
 become a Prince, and make
 Thrones Renowned, without

a stock of money to supply their Occasions; the provision whereof, as it denominates a Prince frugal and prudent so it strikes terror into his Enemies, procures respect from his Allies, reverence from his Subjects, and lies in readiness to serve his Glory. Whereas Contempt is the inseparable Companion of Poverty, though sitting in Throne, and adorn'd with Diadem.

The first step to make yourself rich, is to make your People so; and that your Treasure may be full, endeavour that theirs may abound and overflow. Let it be your principal care to secure their Traffique, and protect them in their

their Commerce. This, besides the advantage of your Exchequer by your Customs, will win you the Affections of your People, whom nothing pleaseth more than the increase of Wealth, which makes them esteem him the best Prince under whom they thrive most. The improvement of their Estates is a sensible benefit and effect of your Protection, and an Argument so convincing and demonstrative of good Government, that they yield a voluntary and cheerful obedience to that Regiment from which they derive such real and palpable advantages; and will esteem it a Priviledge, not a Burden, to obey. When you are thus

become Master of their hearts, you may at a pinch command their Purfes, who cannot but hold themselves obliged in good Nature and Interest, to part with a pittance to supply his Neceffities, to whose Care and Protection they owe their Abundance ; and may expect an increase of their store, by the Continuance of his Favour, as their denial may incline him by remifsness and neglect of their Concerns, to expose what they profess to hazard and danger ; and dash all hopes of future improvement.

It will be a singular means to gain Esteem and Love from your People, if you make provision of Neceffaries against

gainst times of Dearth ; And by affording them at reasonable Rates for Relief of their Wants, it will appear to them that you prefer publique Satisfaction before your private Benefit : And the Reputation of your prudent Fore-sight and Care for their Good, will implant in them a solid Love for your Person, and Esteem for your Conduct, than which nothing can be of more advantage in the Course of your Affairs. No Benefits leave so deep impressions as those that come seasonably for Relief of Necessities ; which being a clear Evidence of your Love to your Subjects, will beget a reciprocal Love from them. 'Tis vain

to think a Grieved People can be Courted to forget their Miseries by Sports and Pastimes, or fooled out of the memory of their Sufferings, into Affection to their Oppressors, by Shews and Spectacles, which may for a moment please the fancy; but work not any other Effects than meerly superficial, as light and empty, as vain and transitory, as their Causes: The Bonds of Policy are real and ponderous, and Subjection a serious thing, which affects so deeply the Hearts of Men, that nothing but the sensible Effects of a vigilant Protection, derived to them by solid Advantages from their superiours, can make them love those Chains which

which Nature abhors.

And since the Necessities of State may often force you to press your People to extraordinary Supplies, by Taxes and Impositions; you are to consider that the power of a Prince depends upon his Peoples Conformity to his Directions, and uniform assent to serve and honour him. And inasmuch as nothing touches them more nearly in their Estates and Fortunes (the Blood of the People) than the Exaction of New Aids, that Golden Mean which is the best Rule of Humane Actions, is to be observed accurately in these Affairs: And you are to take special heed not to strain the strings of your Power too high,

high, to prevent those Jars and Discords that usually disorder the whole harmony of Government on these occasions. And though in this advice I may seem to contradict my own practice, having often burdened my People with Taxes and Impositions ; I have this to justify my Assertions, that I never took that Course, but forced by indispensable necessities of my Wars, nor made use of it but against my Will ; and that I never had encouragement from the effects it wrought in my Peoples Hearts to reiterate the practice.

To give you some Directions in a matter of so great moment ; I observe that Moneys
are

are drawn by Princes from their Subjects two ways, voluntary and compulsive: I call that voluntary, when the Subject does, as by Contract, receive *quid pro quo* from his Sovereign, in some particular Benefit, for the Money he pays; as in the sale of Offices, farming of Lands, &c. Compulsive, when no particular recompence is made by the Prince for what he receives, and the Subjects Money exacted from him: for though in truth, when Taxes and Impositions are raised to serve Publique Necessities, and employed accordingly, the Prince is but the *Peoples* Steward, to dispose of their Aids for their benefit, wherein they receive

the recompence of their Supplies: Yet these Benefits being commonly remote, general, and diffusive, pass as it were invisible and unperceived, by the particular Members of the Body politique, who are little affected with any Advantage, but what sensibly accrues to them in their private Concerns. This is the reason why this later seems so harsh, and the other pleasant to the People; and may incline you to use this, rather than that. The Court of *Rome* may encourage all *Princes* studious of their profit, to establish the sale of Offices, as a great Help to fill their Treasures; which is clearly proved by the experience of the *Papacy*: for be
the

the Church never so poor in the Vacancy of the See, the succeeding Pope never fails to furnish himself abundantly in the very entrance of his reign by this single means of the sale of Offices.

That other way of Supply by Taxes and Impositions, is not so odious, but by dextrous management, discreet Officers, and presidents of other Countreys under heavier Burdens, it may be practised without inconvenience. But it will concern the *Prince* by easie Access, kind Reception, satisfactory Answers, and obliging Carriage, and by making out the Necessities that occasion this Grievance, to sweeten the Affections of the people into

a Belief that he hath not taken this course willingly, but compelled by urgent Occurents of State, and for the defence or other advantage of his Subjects. And in levying these Impositions, whether temporary or perpetual, have a watchful Eye on your Officers, lest by Exactions and Violences they adde to the *Peoples* miseries, and render them less able to furnish you another time.

Never impose high Customs on those things which are imported or exported to serve the Necessities of the place; for in that case the moderate Custom makes the greater vent, and proves more advantageous than heavy Impositions, which discourage Trade,
and

and not onely deprive the place of Necessaries for subsistence, but stop the sale of those Superfluities it can spare, by the thin resort of forraign Merchants, where Great Customs devour the Gains of those that Traffique. To impose high Customs on forraign Superfluities imported, is not only just, in making them that affect those Novelties pay dear for their Fancies, but in deterring others from the vanity of expending on those Trifles the Moneys that may be otherwise better employed.

Allow convenient time for payment of your Taxes, and let them be gathered by ordinary Officers, not new Commissioners

missioners, whose violence commonly exasperates the people to the danger of the State. In a word, chuse rather to pawn or sell part of your Revenue to supply your Occasions, than by encreasing the peoples Burdens, to force them to a desire of Change. And when Necessity leaves no other way open, consider the nature of the places you Tax, what they can best furnish you withal; as *Spain*, with Money; *Germany*, Men; *Italy*, both Money and Men. Sometimes ingratiate your self with the people by a voluntary Remission of part of the Assessments; and let all matters of Grace flow to them immediately from your self, and

and refer to your Ministers what is harsh and odious. Above all, see that what is so dearly purchased with the peoples groans and your danger, be brought to your Purse, and not diverted to the private profit of your Officers. Keep Credit with the Merchants, protect them in their Trade, and secure their Commerce ; especially those of *Genoa*, whose Loans you will find useful in many Emergencies, which may require quicker supplies than can be raised by the ordinary ways of Tax and Impositions.

The absolute necessity of an able Council, is evidently gathered from the impossibility of dispatching the Affairs
of

of State, by a single person, though of prodigious Abilities: And that several Princes of dissolute Lives, and weak Capacities, have reigned with honour to the State, and to the satisfaction of their people, meerly by the prudence and faithfulness of their Ministers; to whom the greatest Princes owe most of their Glory, as the *Atlas's* of their Government, on whose shoulders they are triumphantly carried through the Difficulties of Policy, into the Temples of Immortal Honour.

Your Wisdom cannot appear in any thing more, than in the choice of fit persons to serve you in your weighty Affairs, by Counsel and Execution.

cution. And the better to guide your Election, think no man worthy employment under you, but such whose Wisdom enables them to discharge their Trust to best advantage; and secure them from those Inconveniencies wherein men are involved by Ignorance and Imprudence. And lest passion or interest should incline them to employ their Talents to your prejudice ; and study their own, more than your Interest and Honour : Your next care must be, That their Wisdom be attended with a generous Faithfulness to discharge their Trust, intire Love for your *Person*, and a vertuous Disposition, without which, it will be impossible

ble to give the people satisfaction, when the scandalous Lives of your Ministers shall give them cause to suspect all their Actions, and to presage nothing but Ruine to the State from their Conduct who cannot govern themselves. Tis an excellent Secret, and one of the prime Mysteries in the Art of Government, for a *Prince* incapable to manage Affairs of State, to cover his Defects by employing men of Excellent Abilities, well-disposed, and faithful to his Crown. The Glory of their Actions redounds to the *Prince*; and the people, never curious to enquire from what hand they receive their Happiness, rest so well satisfied with

with the Effect, that they care not to pry into the Cause, but applaud him an Excellent *Prince*, under whom they enjoy peace and plenty, though perhaps he contributes little to the Felicity they live in.

The Advantages of Honour and Profit that attend the service of *Princes*, attract multitudes to seek and press for employment ; but you are to remember that most of these men come to serve their ambitious and covetous Humours, not the Interest and Honour of the State. But as I will not condemn all that catch at employment, and offer their services, so I advise you to think your best diligence well laid out, to find men in all places
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of your Dominions, fit to serve you ; and having found them, to esteem your Treasures of Wealth and Honour never better expended than in encouraging such men by ample Rewards, and obliging them more strictly to your person and interest : The rather, for that the World affords numbers of excellent persons, who in private Fortunes have princely Spirits, elevated to that pitch, that they admire not Riches or Honours, but prefer the Liberty of an obscure Retirement, before the splendid Servitude of high Employments. Yet these men, when drawn forth to appear on the Theatre of State, have acted their parts with

with singular **Dexterity**, incomparable **Integrity**, and admired **Courage**. And settle it for a **Maxime**, That in matters of importance, a prudent and couragious Counsellor may promote your designs by his sound Advice, more than Legions of Souldiers, and whole Mountains of Treasure. And you may observe that the greatest *Princes* in all Ages have made choice of, and been served by the ablest Ministers; whereof *Cæsar*, the greatest *Prince* in my Judgement, for Peace and War, that ever appeared on the Stage of the World, is a sufficient Instance; No Age having produced a *Prince* equal to him, or a *Princes* Ministers comparable to those

those he employ'd. The Reason is obvious, *Like will to like*: And a gallant *Prince* presently discovers the Weakness of a Minister, and slightshim; as a weak *Prince* comprehends not the Excellencies, and therefore seldom uses the Service of an able Officer.

'Tis useful and necessary to observe the Genius of your Officers, and fit them with Employments suitable to their Inclinations and particular Excellencies: For a Minister who may perform Excellent Services to your Crown in *Spain*, if employed in *Italy* may prejudice your Affairs there, which are to be carried on with other Maximes, and manag'd by persons of tempers dif-

different from your *Spanish Ministers*. In the choice of Generals and Captains of Armies, this Rule is of singular benefit, which may appear by that eminent Example of *Hannibal*, inferiour to none in Conduct or Success in Land-Wars, but most unhappy in Naval Engagements: So rare a thing is a man absolutely wise, that can at all times, in all places, and on all occasions, merit the praise of a dextrous Minister.

Left the date of your Happiness expire with the Lives of your able Counsellors, fail not to train up others for your service, in the life-time and under the tuition of your greatest Ministers, to be a
Nursery

Nursery of gallant persons, whose eminent Abilities and worthy Actions, may perpetuate the Felicity of your Estates. Take the Romans for your Example, who to prevent the Inconvenience might ensue the leaving the stress of their great Affairs, to rely and depend on the Life of a single person, in all their Armies made provision of several able Commanders assigned to succeed in the Office of General, in case of misadventure to the person actually officiating the Chief Charge.

Never hazard matters of Importance in a time of danger, upon their management, who were never employed in Affairs of equal weight : In
which

which Cases you are to prefer the experience of your Ancient, before the Humours of your younger Counsellors.

'Tis a common Observation that young men are generally bold and credulous, as old men fearful and suspicious; therefore in the choice of Counsellors, respect chiefly the middle Age, as a mean between those Extreams: But rely most on their Advice, who have given proof of their sufficiency in dangerous occasions, and are grown gray with the Gares of Government; whose Experience may tune the dissonant Humours of jarring Councils to a perfect Harmony: But think not I

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exclude young or old men from your Councils, for the Common Observation like General Rules hath its exceptions in many Instances of young men of ripe Understandings, and old ones of flourishing Wits and warm Courage. I rather commend to your imitation that Roman Medley where the heat of young men was tempered by the cool and staid prudence of gray-heads, and the quintessence of both concurred in men of middle Age, who partaking of the vigorous Heat of the former, and sober Wisdom of the latter, were excellent both for Counsel and Execution, and together made up the Body of a Roman Senate.

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The Ancient Greeks, in four famous Examples, have intimated to us four special means to attain Wisdom.

The first by Experience : Expressed in the Story of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, represented as persons grown wise by variety of Business, and Observations gathered out of frequent Audiences, Treaties, and Consultations.

The second is by Histories and Memoires, which in small Volumes comprehending the Transactions of many Ages, afford Instructions useful in Occurrences of the present Times, and furnish the Reader with Examples of all sorts, discovering not only the mis-

carriages of former Times, but the Causes of them ; and shewing those Rocks on which unskilful Pilots have split the Ship of State, direct the diligent Observer to steer his Course into a safe Port. This we have figured in *Solon* and *Socrates*.

The third by Travel into forraign Countreys to mark the variety of Laws, of Policy, which may be useful in Occurrences at home, represented in *Ulysses*.

The fourth in *Nestor*, by long Life, where one Lesson learnt yearly, swells at last to a System of Wisdom. When all these concur in one person, they make his person reverend, and his Counsels Oracles.

Nor

Nor will it be unsafe to rely on their Advice, who have joyned Historical to Experimental Wisdom: And though the length of time supposed necessary to attain these several sorts of Wisdom, seem to exclude young men from being Masters of any of them, yet a young Prince may soon attain them all, by frequent converse by the Eminent in every kind, and discreet use of their Counsels.

The second qualification of a Minister, is, That he be a Good Man: Where the exquisite Arts of Hypocrisie, those invisible Deceits and Labyrinths in the hearts of Men, have made it almost impossible to pronounce a right Sen-

tence without long and accurate Observation of their Actions : for Actions may be good in Substance and Effect, yet not denominate the Agent a Good Man, because they may be done with a bad intent, or ill designs, or by accident, or may proceed from a wavering mind, not out of Love to Vertue, but to serve its Interest, or gratifie it self with more ease and security in some corrupt Lust, or vitious Practice; to promote which, the same person will by and by act things quite contrary to the good now done. He only deserves the Title of a Good Man, who having well weigh'd the Pleasures and Profits that court men to Vice, makes

makes a deliberate Election, and gives the preference to Vertuous Courses, being satisfied he hath an absolute Obligation to Truth and Goodness, devested of all Secular advantages : Acts well, out of a Generous Principle, That 'tis his Duty to do so, and improves this Principle by constant Practice into an habitual Goodness : This is that fix'd immoveable Man, that *Τελευτώνος Ἄνθρωπος*, who must cease to be, before he can deviate from the Rules of Virtue. Prefer this qualification in your Minister, before Riches, Favour, and all the Goods of Fortune ; which if they want, let them be furnished by you, in reward of

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their Services ; the rather, for that the meaner his Fortune was whom your Bounty exalts, the stronger will the Obligation be, and his gratitude greater. That favour is most acceptable, which is proper and agreeable to the humour of him on whom it is bestowed : Therefore you are to dispence your Bounties in Honours, Profits, and Pleasures, as most suitable to their various Inclinations. And let not your Favourites or Officers deprive you of any part of that Gratitude which is due to your Bounty, which they will certainly do, if your favours flow not immediately from your self, but are got upon their motion and intreaty,

intreaty, or conferr'd by their hands.

Scorn to be so much your Favourites or Domesticks Servant, as to confine your self always to their Advice in what concerns your Family or Person, but use your Liberty to take Counsel, where your Reason suggests the best may be had; and prefer the Considerations of Wisdom and Vertue, not onely to those of Riches and Honour, but the nearest Relations of Domesticks, or Favourites, not commended by the same qualities to your special respect.

Cherish Emulation in your Ministers, by giving assured Hopes of Nobler Rewards to

the better desert, but take heed this Emulation between them proceed not to Jealousie, and perpetual Dislikes, as very prejudicial to your service in the Clashings of their Counsels and Actions, and in the envy that attends the Preferment of the most Meritorious, which involves the Inferiour in perpetual Discontents, and engages him to level all his Designs more to cross and lessen the others Authority, and traduce his Services, than to promote your Interest.

'Tis a common Error in *Princes* of great Parts not to consult with, or to neglect the Advice of their ablest Ministers, lest these should claim

a share in the Glory of their Actions, and rob them of part of that Honour which they would intirely enjoy : For since the Advice of Counselors depends so much on the Resolution of the Prince, what reason is there, but that the Prince may justly assume the intire Glory of the Action, though proceeding from his Ministers Advice ; which, if not actuated by the Prince, had remained a formless imperfect Embryon, without Beauty or Efficacy ? As the Architect carries the Honour of the Edifice, though the Model was framed with the Advice of a Labourer. Besides, you may make great advantage of founding the opinion

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nion of your Counsellors, without imparting to them the Secret of your Designs.

What is said of Counsellors, will be of use in your choice of Governours of Provinces, Towns, and Places of strength. I will adde onely this, That I hold it most secure for the Prince to grant such Offices for some short time only, to prevent the danger of making Parties, and carrying on disloyal Designs; which the Opportunities of a long continuance in Office may tempt ambitious Spirits to. Nor can frequent Changes of this kind displease the People, who are naturally addicted to Novelty, and apt to nauseate things accustomed, though

though never so Good.

Easie Access, and free Audience, are great Obligations to the Commons; especially when you apply Remedies to the Grievances they complain of; and by the same means you will gain great Knowledge and Experience in business, and an insight into a thousand Designs, which otherwise you had never heard of.

The like, and many other good effects will attend the Progresses you are to make into the several parts of your Dominions; but take heed the frequency of them render them not contemptible, nor the Charge burdensom to your Subjects. As they must
not

not be too long intermitted, lest hope of impunity move your Deputies and Magistrates to oppress the People, and their hopes of Relief from the presence of their Prince, be extinguished.

Receive Petitions courteously, hear patiently, express Compassions to those in misery, and endeavour that none may depart unsatisfied from your presence. See that the Power of Great Ones weigh not down the Right of the Poor. And in giving of Judgment, respect not for the time, the good or ill report of the Persons, but the merits of the Cause. Confer Offices of Judicature on Persons of Learning and Integrity. And to engage

gage them to discharge their Duties well, give them cause to believe that the first step to higher Dignities, is to behave themselves well in the lower.

Conscience and Charity oblige to a special regard of Churches, Orphans, Widows, Prisoners, Captives, and all Persons in misery and necessity; fail not to relieve them with expedition in their Causes. And settle it in your mind as an undoubted Truth, That God, who judges all without respect of Persons, hath declared himself propense and ready to hear the Cries of the Distressed, and will certainly punish those Kings and States, where such Causes

Causes are slighted, or sacrificed to Power or Affection: Which I could clear to you by Examples in the compass of my Experience ; but that your Piety and Tenderness of Conscience make it superfluous to adde more on this point.

The like expedition is to be used in the Causes of Merchants and other men, who lose more by spending time in attending the tedious and chargable formality of *Courts*, than the matters in difference amount to in value.

Dispatch in person what Causes you can, the rest refer to your Officers ; to whom you are for expedition to assign severally their proper Tasks. In

In capital matters, temper Severity with Lenity, and incline rather to absolve a suspected Criminal, than condemn an Innocent Person; but let not your Lenity be so excessive, as to encourage Offenders. Weigh seriously the circumstances of Persons, Times, and Places; and hold not your self so obliged to the strict observance of the dead Letters of your Laws, but that on just grounds you may dispense with the Rigor of those punishments they inflict. Frame your Proceedings by the *Lesbian* Rule, pliable to the variety of Circumstances; for then only the people have just cause to complain that Justice is not equally

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ly administred against Criminals, when they see the same Crime in several persons unequally punished, but cannot discern any Reason of the diversity.

However, have such respect to the majesty of your Laws, that the power of Dispensation may remain in your self incommunicable to any, but by special Commission on weighty Occurrences: And in these Cases, Governours of States are the best Judges to moderate Laws, who see those Reasons to incline them, which pass the Knowledge, and exceed the Capacity of ordinary Advocates: But be sure this moderation arise out of a Right in Equity,
not

not Errour in Affection.

Let no Service done you pass unrewarded ; at least in good words, which may beget an expectation of real Benefit, when time serves. Be not curious to inquire into the private Actions of your Subjects, but let it satisfie you that they live conformable to your Laws, without scandal and manifest offence to the majesty of your Government. Leave secret faults to his Judgement who searches the heart, and sees all things : What reason is there our hands should execute, where the Eye cannot pierce. Beware of prejudicate Opinions, and ever reserve an Ear for the other side in matters of complaint :
Encourage

Encourage not undue Practices by too much Facility, nor discourage just Addresses by a Rigor that may preclude all expectation of Reason from you of your proceedings.

Never pass sentence in Choler, or any other perturbation, lest you give just Cause, as *Philip of Macedon*, of Appeal from your self, blinded with Passion, to your self seeing with the Eye of Reason.

Let the Guards of your Person be so kept about you, that it may appear done more to set forth the majesty of Government, than out of any necessity to secure your Life.

To use Princely Garments sometimes, begets Reverence
for

for your Person, and strikes Awe into the Multitude; but generally to wear a plain Habit fitted to the Mode of the Country, procures much love; the Subject being much pleased to observe in their Prince a careless contempt of those Complements in which others vainly place their principal felicity: Observe the like Rule in your Diet; neither incurring hatred from the people by Excess and Profuseness; nor Contempt; by sinking too near the condition of a Subject.

To conclude this point, the time of Peace is most fit for adorning Cities, repairing High-Ways and Bridges, making Rivers Navigable, building

ing Churches, Hospitals, Guild-Halls, reforming Abuses in Religion, visiting Universities, *Colledges*, and *Courts* of Justice, Education of Orphans, Marriage of poor Maids, Redemption of Prisoners, and other Works of publique Benefit, which will oblige the People to Love and Thankfulness, remain Monuments to Posterity of your Goodness, and happy Reign, and crown you with Eternal Glory.

As the Tempests and Storms of blustering Winter, do by natural Revolution succeed the serene and calm Summer Season; So the tranquility of the securest Peace, does by the Politique Vicissitude and Circulation of Affairs, end in
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the Troubles of War, by a necessity immutable as the Laws of Nature. But my present Business is not to demonstrate the Truth of this Sepeculation, but to direct your Conduct in Military Business, by Rules approved by my long experience in several Wars of greatest importance.

The Skill of a Pilot is not seen in the Halcyon Dayes of fair Weather, when a rude Seaman in a Cock-Boat can lead a Dance for a whole Fleet to sport securely on the smiling Ocean; but when the angry Marine Gods in a scornful defiance, swelling their huge Waves unto the Clouds, threaten to throw back those Waters into the face of *Jove*, which

which he had showed down to make a disdain'd Addition to the liquid Element. The Ship of State is easily guided in Times of Peace, when all Discontents are hush'd into an intire Obedience to the Laws, and no Disturbance nor Contention appears, but what arises out of Mens Emulation to conform to their Princes Wills: To steer an even and steady Course to your desired Port, through the Audacious Tumults of Popular Insurrections confronting your Authority, the violences of Forraign Enemies, who at-taque your Power; as it will try your Prudence and Courage, so it is always attended with the Glory due to an excellent

cellent Conduct, and will crown your Head with the Immortal Lawrels of a Triumphant Conquerour.

Directions are so much the more necessary for the Affairs of War, than Peace, as the accidents of War are more various and unexpected, the Conduct thereof more uncertain, and subject to alteration on all sudden Occurrences; and the Errors irrecoverable, or not to be redeemed without much Damage and Inconvenience: Nor can a Prince give better proof of his Vertue and Goodness, than by Moderation in time of War, when Custom seems to tolerate, and Power tempts him to all licentiousness, when

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Ambition prompts him to break through the Spider Web of Legal Bonds, and scorn any Rule of his Desires or Actions, but the Dictates of his Will ; And his Sword promises security against the weak opposition of the tame Arts and unarmed Rights of Peace.

As the Majesty of your Empire will certainly expose you to the Envy of Christian States, the Jealousie of the Turk, and the Enmity of both ; So it will render War a matter not of Conveniency only, to purge your Dominions of those superfluous humours that may molest, and corrupt Members which may destroy so great a Body, but
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of absolute necessity for your Interest, that you may never be unprovided of powerful Forces and expert Commanders, to serve your designs of enlarging your Empire, and to secure you against all Attempts of Forreign Power, and rebellious Subjects, to which so great and divided a Dominion as yours, is as subject by the various Humours, Inclinations, and Interests of its Members, and the busie Arts of your Neighbours, as the Region of the Air to storms and tempests, by the bustling violences of Winds and Vapours. Besides, there is just cause to fear that the disuse of Arms, will no less weaken and corrupt the Body Politique, than

want of motion the Elemental Substances: And it will be very difficult to bring them back to endure patiently the Hardships of War, who have drunk deep of the delicious Nectar of Ease and Rest, and enjoyed the soft Pleasures of Peace, or to keep them within the Bounds of Civil Laws, who have been long used to the Licentiousness of War: For as Martial Discipline seems too rigid and severe to those, so the Experience of several great Monarchies hath confirmed, that the Threats of Humane Edicts cannot deter them from pursuing their Lusts in despite of Laws, the first Principle of whose Profession, is, *Not to fear*; and whose

whose Conversation with Death the King of Terrors, hath made the Loss of Life so familiar and contemptible, that like them who by constant use of Poysons, have exempted themselves from the fatal effects thereof; Those Capital Punishments which appear to others as Bug-bears to fright them from transgressing the Limits of their Duties, have no operation on their tougher Constitutions, who having often exposed their Lives to utmost perils, meerly to serve the interests of their Leader, will not scruple to hazard them to please themselves.

The Jealousie of his Equals,
the emulous ambition of his

potent Officers, and the suspicious Capricchio's of inferior Subjects, oblige a Prince to be always on his Guard with his Sword in Hand, to prevent those Injuries which unprovided Security will invite them to offer him. And to compleat your Glory in matters of War, five things are chiefly requisite; Armies, Forts, Garrisons, Provisions, and Knowledge of the Nature of Places, and Humours of the Inhabitants.

It was the Custom of the Romans in the height of their Power, and is now the Turkish Custom to bring prodigious numbers of men into the field: but the great Victories the Romans obtained before
with

with small numbers against vast multitudes of the barbarous Nations, And the Conquest of *Asia* by those few Troops which made up *Alexanders* Army, do clearly demonstrate that huge Bodies of Armed men are more for show than service; more fit for ostentation, as Marks of Power, than requisite to bring Enterprizes to effect; which they obstruct more by their confused multitudes, than they promote by their seeming strength; Experience having taught us, That the greater part were Spectators only, not Actors in the Battel. This hath induced me to concur with the Modern Captains in their opinion, That thirty

thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, or thereabouts, may stand for a compleat Army, without Excess or Defect, as a Number requisite to serve the Designs of a Prince, and sufficient for the greatest Undertakings, easier disciplin'd, paid, and provided for, than greater Bodies, most agreeable to the Modern Art of War. And as the Victories obtained by such reasonable Forces are more honourable, so in truth 'tis rare to see a place so free from Ditches, Rivers, Woods, Lakes, Mountains, and other Impediments, as to be capable of a greater Number in Battel Array.

Besides, We see that the
Turk

Turk lays the stress of his Battels, and builds the Glory of his Victories, not on those infinite multitudes which swell his Camp, but on the Valour and Experience of those few Regiments of *Janizaries* that attend him, as *Cæsar* placed more confidence in his tenth Legion than in all the rest of his Army, though the far greater Number and no mean Souldiers. And as *Cæsar* notwithstanding the detriment by Battel and other Accidents, did by constant supplies preserve that Legion always intire, so must a Prince take care by new forces to make up the number of those Companies which the fate of War, the necessity of

Garrisons, or other Occasions, shall withdraw from his Army, which must be maintained in the full number we have prescribed. And supplies of new men may be rationally thought to increase the Gallantry of an Army, in that their want of experience makes them run more boldly into those dangers which the try'd Souldier cunningly declines, or meets with caution.

Next the proportion of your Army, the Discipline of your Camp claims your diligence : And herein be sure to establish such Rules that the Principles of Religion and Justice, may flourish there, that your Souldiers may pay
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the Duty they owe to God, who is Lord of Hosts, and to themselves in a vertuous and honest Life, which must be attended with obedience and due respect to their General and all subordinate Officers: To effect this, encourage the Dutiful by Rewards and Honours, and punish the Stubborn and Contumacious by Disgraces and Rigorous Corrections. Stifle Mutinies in the Birth by sharp Executions, as the best means to make impressions in Souldiers hearts, whom Rhetorique makes more insolent. Souldiers, as other men, have times of leasure and vacation from the Exercises of the Camp; therefore to prevent the entrance

trance of Sloth and Idleness,
 'tis the Generals part to invent
 such Divertisements as may by
 constant imployment secure
 them from those Vices, and
 withal render Military En-
 gagements more familiar, and
 so less formidable to them.
 The duty of a Souldier is to
 obey willingly, and execute
 readily the Commands of his
 Officer: And that of a Com-
 mander is to act with Cou-
 rage, Discretion, and Faith-
 fulness, to win them to a
 prompt obedience by Good
 Words, (as *Cæsar* call'd them
 Fellow-Souldiers) and by
 care of their Persons, Rela-
 tions, Credit, and Interest,
 which will oblige them upon
 occasion to humble Acknow-
 ledgements

ledgements and real Gratitude.

When you have thus settled the proportion and Discipline of your Army, you cannot rationally presume of success in your enterprizes, without good Rules and Orders for fight ; which though they vary in this of War, as in other Arts, according to the different circumstances of Action ; yet Maximes grounded on Reason and Experience will fit a man to use all occasions to best advantage : I have often observed a great disorder in the Modern Discipline, and had an earnest desire to redress it, which will appear to you by my large Collection of Notes to that purpose ;
but

but could never obtain leasure from my Great Employments to perfect my Design, which may deserve the Pains of so great a Prince as you to compleat : The disorder is, That our Battels and Squadrons are marshalled in a direct Line, every particular Man, and the Ranks in general standing directly behind one another ; so that 'tis impossible for the first to retreat without disturbance to the next Ranks : And thus the full strength and effect of the Army, depends on the three or four first Ranks of the Battel. My design was, to find out a method whereby the first Rank being forced to retire might not bear upon the second,

second, nor the second upon the third ; but that the hinder Ranks might without disorder or disturbance readily step forward into the place of the wearied men, and at once relieve them and engage the Enemy ; so that no inconvenience may befall the Army upon the Retreat of the first Ranks ; which I look as the chief Perfection of the Roman Discipline. To effect this, my project was, to divide the Vanguard-Battel and Rere-guard into three Squadrons, one to anothers side in a Triangular Form ; the first to represent the point, the other two the sides ; for being thus dis-joyned and severed by Art, it were easie to bring forward

forward the second to fight, without disturbing the first; and the third, without disordering the other two: Whereby, besides other Advantages, the fortune of the Field will be thrice attempted in one Encounter. And from this rough draught of the Design, you may proceed to an exact Method how these Squadrons being sub-divided into smaller, may relieve one another with like Advantage, which Experience must perfect.

Another Errour in the Modern Discipline, is, That the best Souldiers are put in the first Ranks; whereby it comes to pass that if these begin to shrink and give back, the rest
by

by their example do the like, as if it were their Duty to imitate their Betters even in bad Actions; which hath been the Ruine not only of Companies and Regiments, but intire Armies: And herein the Romans are worthy imitation, who placed in the Front those they called *Hastati*, or Pikemen, consisting of young men of greatest strength and courage, mixed with a third part of old Souldiers, to temper the heat, and direct the valour of the Youth; in the second Squadron, called *Principes*, were two parts of old experienced Souldiers, and a third of young: The third called *Triarii*, was intirely made up of the most expert
and

and couragious in the Army. By this excellent Order it came to pass, that not only the first on-set of the Roman Army being made by the warm Blood and emulous Courage of their choicest Youth, was violent and impetuous, and their Defence vigorous against the most brisk Assaults; but that if at any time they gave back or were repulsed, the second Squadron was ready to sustain the shock with greater Bravery; and upon their Retreat, the *Triarii* succeeded to maintain the fight, with assured hopes of Victory, to beat off those Enemies who could not but be extremely weakned by the Valour of the *Hastati*, and expert
 Courage

Courage of the *Principes*. This Order I approve of, as of greatest use. And though the high Reputation of the Roman Arms may by their great and long success in War, justify the imitation of their Discipline without further Reason; yet 'tis obvious to every Eye on what solid Grounds of Prudence this Order was established, and that of the Greek *Phalanges* marshalled in direct Lines rejected by the Romans, who though they received the Rudiments of War from the Greeks, became greater Proficients in the Art than their Teachers; making themselves Masters of the one and the other, by conquering Greece with those Arms the use

use whereof they derived from the Grecians. Another Argument for Collateral Squadrons, is, That the *Phalanges* or Ranks marshalled in a direct Line, are subject to greater Execution by the Enemies Artillery, which scours all that stands before it in a strait Line. Besides many other Observations which you will find scattered in my Notes for your direction in this and other points of War.

Nothing can render your Name more Illustrious than the Glory of perfecting this project for the better ordering of Forces in Battel. But let not your Employments at Land, make you forget that
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the Sea is part of your Dominion : Provide stores of all necessary Implements for Fleets; Let your Vessels be well rigg'd, mann'd, and employ'd in the service of the State, and augmented to that number that may be sufficient to serve your Designs, without depending upon your Neighbours or Subjects. And never admit any Vessel into the List of your Fleets, but such only wherein you have propriety: For private men are so wedded to their particular Interest, that upon the appearance of danger their study is to preserve their Vessels, though to the Ruine of the State.

Cause your Forts to be
often

often viewed, their works frequently surveyed, and see them repaired and improved where requisite ; and the Stores fill'd with all necessaries. Provide faithful, expert and couragious Governours, and trusty Souldiers : The Accidents of Death, Sickness, and loss of men, will prompt you to exceed in number, rather than fall short ; but make choice of such as may give you cause, with the Romans, to rely more on the Valour of your Souldiers, than the strength of the place, though never so well fortified by Art and Nature. Let your Forts on the Frontier be few but strong. When you are assaulted, rather meet your Enemy bravely

bravely in the Field, than
 coop your self up in a Garri-
 son. When you are the Ag-
 gressor, choose to annoy the
 Enemy by Forts and Sconces
 raised for that purpose ; and
 not with intolerable expence
 of Moneys and Time, and loss
 of Men, to sit down before his
 places of strength, which sel-
 dom recompence your pains in
 the taking. In erecting Forts
 take your Model from the na-
 ture of the place, and apply
 your Industry to make the
 whole proportionable to the
 parts, and the parts to the
 whole. And though no place
 can be impregnable, make
 yours of that strength that
 may deprive the Enemy of
 hopes to take them without a
 tedi-

tedious siege, great loss of men, vast expence, and other disadvantages that attend those difficult Enterprizes.

The Provisions of War are Victuals, Artillery, Ammunition, Supplies, and Coyn; which are then sufficient when the quantity seems to maintain an Army in a capacity to perform any Martial Attempt; which had my weighty Occasions permitted, I had reduced to a certainty. My project was, to raise a Gallant Army composed of *Flemings*, *Germans*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, to be kept in constant exercise against the Turk and Christian Princes whom Danger or Interest should oblige me to engage with. For their
Maintenance

Maintenance I design'd to capitulate with them, That all Booties belonging to the adverse State, as Artillery, Ammunition, &c. should be intirely mine and my Successors, and all private Spoils to be distributed among the Souldiers; yet so, as to oblige them at reasonable Rates to sell to an Officer to be appointed to that purpose; such Garments, Victuals, and other things of that nature, as were not necessary for present use, which should be stored up by him, and sold again to the Souldier upon occasion with some profit to me. This had been of great conveniency to me, but more to the Souldier, in having at hand all Necessa-

F ries

ries to supply his wants, at cheaper Rates than he could expect to receive them from those who follow the Camp to raise their fortunes, and make unreasonable Gains by excessive Prices.

This done, my intention was, to constitute an Officer to receive and secure such Moneys or Goods as the Soldier upon apprehension of any dangerous Service, or other consideration, should deposit with him ; and to be answerable for the same to the Soldier, his heirs and assigns with allowance of a reasonable gain at so much *per cent.* for the use, with Provision that the goods of such as died without Heirs, should according to the course of

of the Civil Law, belong to the Chamber of the Prince, and the like Constitution for such as departed intestate: and what Souldier in the Army, whether private or in Commission, would not prefer the securing of his Goods, where he, his Heirs or Assigns should certainly receive them, before the exposing them to the hazard of Loss by the Enemy, and other Accidents? And to defray the charge of Carriage requisite for such things, allowance should have been made by the Souldier out of the Gains to come to him from the Use. This Course will be of great Advantage to the Prince, who may make considerable profit of the Moneys remain-

remaining in the hands of his Officers on this Account, to supply his Occasions for payment of his Army, and other necessary Charges, without injury to the Proprietors: And besides this, it will secure the dependance of the Army upon him, the things deposited being good Pledges of their Loyalty, and serve as an inexhaustible Mine of Treasure, by the Moneys and Goods of those that die without heirs and Intestate, or forfeit them by Disloyalty.

Notwithstanding the received Opinion that Moneys are the Sinews of War, you may believe it on my Experience, that it conduces much to the strength of an Army well appointed

pointed in all other things, but is far less necessary than good Discipline, Courage, Experience, and other Conditions requisite in well-ordered Troops, and indeed of no efficacy in point of War where these are wanting. Therefore think your self more obliged to provide able Leaders, expert Souldiers, and good Orders for your Forces, than Moneys; the reason is, That such an Army under the Conduct of a valiant and prudent General, can never want means to maintain it self by Pillage and Victuals, to be gained even in the heart of their Enemies Countrey. And though Provisions may be sometimes scant, the bare Pro-

mises of Pay and Rewards
 from a Prince in Reputation
 with his Army for Power to
 perform, and for keeping his
 Word, will keep them in heart
 in the greatest Difficulties.
 'Tis true, the nature of War
 is such, whether offensive or
 defensive, and the Charge so
 excessive, that without some
 help 'twere impossible for a
 Prince to bear it; but the
 Courses intimated before, and
 the Booty of rich Towns and
 Cities to be gained by Sieges
 or Stratagems, will render it
 tolerable and easie: And it
 must be your Care to make the
 War contribute to the mainte-
 nance of it self, by employing
 your Forces in Actions atten-
 tended with Profit as well as
 Honour,

Honour, and declining all
useless and unprofitable En-
terprizes.

Mortality and other Acci-
dents common to Man, make
it impossible for an Army to
subsist long intire in the same
State without Supplies ; in
order to which, you are to
cause frequent Musters to
be made in all Places of
your Dominion, fit to yeild
Supplies of men, and Regi-
sters to be kept of all the
Youth able to bear Arms,
where it may be done with-
out apparent danger to the
State by Tumult and Insurre-
ction. And as your old Soul-
diers must be preserved from
Sloth by constant Exercises,
so must the Youth that is to

supply the Camp, be trained by sufficient Leaders, for the Service of the War. In your choice, prefer those who are naturally addicted to Arms; and amongst them, chiefly those who have Lands, Goods, or Relations to secure their Loyalty to your Crown, and implant in them a greater fear of shame or punishment, than can be expected from them who carry all their Interests in their Persons, and have nothing to care for but their own safety: But never press any man upon whom the subsistence of a Family depends, but such onely who may be spared without great inconvenience, whom you are to encourage with hopes of Honour

Honour and Profit by the War.

The Dominions you succeed in, are so many and populous, that they will easily furnish you with means to raise and maintain a potent Army according to the Rules I have shewed; And if you keep good Correspondence, and preserve the Amity established between Us and our Allies of the House of *Austria*, you will, besides the *Flemish*, *Italian*, and the *Spanish* Nations, have the *Germans* at your Devotion, who are a mighty and a brave People; and make your self formidable to the greatest Powers on Earth: Whereas if you be at Discord with your Kinsmen of that

F 5

House,

House, it will impair your Authority, encourage your Enemies, weaken your Power, and cool the Affections of your ancient Friends. Above all, have due regard, and express extraordinary respect for your Cousin the King of *Bohemia*, as a person of so much worth, that the greatest Empires are too narrow for the exercise of his Excellent Vertues. And observe it as a Maxime, That though matter of unkindness may sometimes fall out between the nearest Relations; yet more good may be hoped from the Love that springs out of Consanguinity, than the fairest pretences of Amity from a Stranger: And that it is more glorious to pre-
serve

serve the Good Will and Friendship of your Kindred, by yeilding to them in some things to end differences, than by Arms to force Strangers to a Compliance with your Will.

To conclude this point of training Youth, please their Humour, and encourage their love to War by Priviledges of wearing Weapons, and exemption from the burdens of Civil Offices, &c.

Study an exact knowledge of the situation and nature of all places under your Government, wherein their abundance consists, and where their defects; supply these, and use the other as a means to establish Amity between the
several

several Members of your Empire, making the Abundance of one part to fill up the Defects of the other : Cause Plots to be drawn of all their Places of strength, Mountains, Rivers, &c. That by resorting to your Map, you may upon occasion order matters with more certainty.

Think it worth your pains to inquire not only into the Humours and Dispositions, but the Interests, Alliances, and Factions of your potent Subjects, for the Balance of Authority remaining in your Hand, you may easily make that side most weighty and considerable that is best affected to your service, and prevent all disorders that may ensue

ensue upon their engagements in Parties against one another.

If any of your Countreys stand in danger of a Confining Enemy, secure them from injury by your providence. And when you have an exact account of their Inclinations, Power, Alliances, Interests, Wants, Stores, Customs, Affections, Commodities, Incommodities, and Dependancies, use all to your best advantage: Then consider the State and Power of those you esteem your Friends, or stand Neuters in the Quarrel: Weigh well the Persons, Places, Times, Natures, Customs, Neighbours, Officers, Adherents, and other
Con-

considerations incident to the Affairs of your Foes and Friends. For nothing conduces more to a happy Victory, than a perfect knowledge of your own and your Enemies Abilities, and a prudent use of that Knowledge. Be sure you never quarrel a great Potentate for relief of such whose weakness will rather endanger than assist your Crown, unless it appear that their Ruine may turn to your Inconvenience.

In War, who spends most, makes least waste: Never engage in a Quarrel but on just Grounds, and with prudent forecast of the Event; but when engaged, assure yourself 'tis never safe to dally or delay.

delay. Make Provision ever
 in the best time, and of more
 than may seem necessary, for
 the loss in the over-plus can
 be but small; and though it
 were great, can bear no pro-
 portion with the danger of
 of hazarding the greatest un-
 dertakings by want or scarci-
 ty: Victory is the mark of
 the Art Military, and re-
 quires in the beginning Wis-
 dom, Diligence, and Vigi-
 lance; in the pursuit, Cou-
 rage, and Perseverance: Ra-
 ther assault first, than stay till
 you are set upon, and lose the
 advantages of making War in
 your Enemies Countrey: If
 your Enemy prevent you
 herein, make Good your De-
 fence, and by all means endea-
 your

your by diversion to force him
 to retreat. Repose not the
 whole confidence of success in
 your Armies at Land, nor
 Fleets at Sea, which are sub-
 ject to great uncertainties, as
 the Waves that bear them ;
 but think Prudence and Cou-
 rage the best means for Victo-
 ry ; and remember that at Sea
 commonly the greater Num-
 ber prevails *Cæteris Paribus*.
 But for your further Instructi-
 ons in matter of War, I refer
 you to my Notes, which will
 afford you Rules for all Occa-
 sions. And now I shall apply
 my discourse to the Enemies
 you are to grapple with,
 that you may perceive my
 sense of their several Condi-
 tions, and your Conduct in
 your

your Wars against them.

The Turk is your greatest and most certain Enemy, both on the Account of Religion, which you are to prefer before all other Interests; and that the violent Constitution of his Tyrannical Government keeps him always on his Guard, to secure his Power against sudden Attempts; and so his Forces are ever in readiness to be poured where hope of success invites him, who desires no other Cause of Quarrel. When I consider the long course of *Danubius*, and the great Campaign of *Hungary*, the situation of *Vienna*, and Neighbourhood of *Germany*, with the Power of the Neighbours on the one side,
and

and the desert Condition of the Borders on the other, I am induced to believe that he will wave the prosecution of his Conquests there for the present, and bend his Forces against the Islands, and your States in *Italy*, which he will assault before he breaks with *Venice*; the reason is, That if he fall on the Venetian first, he may expect greater Opposition by such Auxiliary Forces as you may send in their Aid; but need not fear the Venetians engagement against him in your Quarrel in a time of peace with them, as well for that all Republicques, whether Aristocratical or Democratical, flattering themselves with hopes of a perpetual subsistence,

stance, do naturally decline all hazardous Undertakings; especially when the Tranquillity they enjoy, and dangers of Action, represent every Alteration for the worse. Besides the plausible pretext of keeping their Faith inviolable, and the necessary dependance of the *Venetian* on the *Ottoman* Empire in point of Traffique; and the reasons they have of being satisfied with their new Acquest of the Isle of *Candy* from the Turk.

The Turkish Empire hath its period, but known only to God; and 'tis in vain to expect his Fall by Miracles from Heaven, which must be effected by sound Policies and strength

strength of Armed Men. The
 poor effects Experience hath
 shewed of an Universal
 League and Combination of
 Christians against the Turks,
 afford you this Rule, That
 while men manage the Affairs
 of the World, they will often
 sacrifice the best Cause and
 nearest Concerns of true In-
 terest, to Humours and Passi-
 ons; whereof you have a
 pregnant instance in the beha-
 viour of the French King on a
 causless Jealousie in the mat-
 ter in hand. This makes me
 conclude it a common Errour
 that the excessive Power of
 the *Ottoman* is to be humbled
 rather by the United Forces of
 several Princes, who cannot
 but have several Designs and
 several

several Interests, than by the strength of one mighty Potentate, whose Designs are like his Person, single and intire, and his Interest one and the same. This great Work seems reserved for you, as the greatest Prince of the Christian Profession; and with the Aid of your Allies of the House of *Austria*, of sufficient Ability to encounter that Pagan Giant; but not without a serious Consideration of the most proper means to attain your ends, by such ways as sound experimental Wisdom shall direct.

And first what War is most available against him, Defensive or Offensive, by Prevention or by Diversion? As for
De-

Defensive War, nothing but pure Necessity can justify the choice of it; being the most unprofitable, uncomfortable, and dangerous, as that wherein we do but expose and lay our selves open to the injuries of Hostility, to the manifest consumption of our strength, and to the apparent danger of our whole Interest, without hope of Restitution of Loss, or Reparation of Damages.

The impossibility of making the Preparations requisite for an Offensive War, without the knowledge of the Turk, and finding him on his guard, may dissuade you from that course; as the multitude of Forces he maintains in constant pay, and always in readiness,

ness, anticipates all Designs to molest him, by preventive Wars, or by way of Diversion; so that my Advice is, To avoid the simple kinds of War, and to resolve on a mixt, Defensive in appearance, but Offensive in act; which if wisely managed, may by degrees of Prevention and Diversion, be at length converted into a pure Offensive; which must be effected more by slights and stratagems, than plain force, against this potent Enemy: And to this purpose you will find frequent Opportunities by the Troubles and Encombrances of his other Wars, his Losses, and the Disorders of his Camp, and the Discord about the succes-

succession of the Empire.
 But rely chiefly on the favour
 of God, which is partly pro-
 cured by the use of means ap-
 proved by humane Discreti-
 on, as conducing most to the
 ends we aim at ; and there-
 fore you are to preserve the
 Affections of your Allies of
 the House of *Austria*, to your
 Person and Interest. And as
 the state of their Affairs can-
 not but oblige them to a strict
 Correspondence and Amity
 with you for the better At-
 chievement of their Enter-
 prizes ; so you are to believe
 that to maintain Friendship
 and Good Intelligence with
 them, will not only strengthen
 your Interest in general, but
 is of absolute necessity in
 order

order to Success against the Turk.

Accompt that your best time of war with the *Ottoman*, when he is engaged with some potent Enemy else where, or perplexed with dangers and seditions, discontents or factions at home: But if the Condition of your Affairs cannot conveniently allow the expectation of these opportunities, when your preparations have given him the Alarm, and drawn his forces into the field, make use of shifts and delays to frustrate his designs by declining engagement, and putting upon him the loss of the

G

whole

whole expence of that *Campaign* : And the next year take the advantage of his security , want of preparation and disability to appear on the sudden in compleat equipage : And be sure to march forward with all expedition , that you may fortifie your new Conquests, and be in a capacity to maintain them against him by a resolute defence before he advances to stop your course : and dispose your affairs, so that when he begins to disband and draw off into his quarters, you may be ready to fall on : And by renewing the war, put him on the necessity of continuing

ing his vast Armies in pay,
 (which he can by no means
 endure long,) or reduce
 his Army to so mean a pro-
 portion, as may give you as-
 sured hopes of victory.

No place is fitter for the
 seat of the war, than in
 some parts of *Hungary* remote
 from *Danubius*; for besides
 the narrowness of several pa-
 sages extremely incommo-
 dious for the huge bodys of
 his Cavalry, He will be de-
 stitute of those Conveni-
 ences which the River affords
 for that immense baggage,
 and cumbersome train usu-
 ally attending his Camp,
 whereof you may make ex-
 cellent use to the benefit of

your, and prejudice, if not ruine of his designs. And to that purpose, I again Commend to you a good Correspondence with your Uncle the King of the *Romans*, to whom you are to Grant and offer all Aydes of men or mony to keep the ballance even, till you find an opportunity to appear in the field.

The Turk relies intirely on the number and strength of his men : And your way to defeat him being by stratagem ; be carefull to draw him into straight and narrow places, where he cannot for want of room make use of his whole power. And
may

may be pinched for defect of Carriages, and necessary provisions. In Engagements and Conflicts, provide Stout Companies of Foot to annoy his horse; who being generally without Armour, are soon routed by the strong impressions of a Gallant infantry. 'Tis a point of the Turkish discipline, to reserve the Janizaries for the last onset and recourse to victory: And if a choice Squadron be pickt out to engage them, from the beginning to the end of the battle; the unexpectedness of the stratagem will surprize, and much disorder the Janizaries, and abate

the courage of the rest of their Army, who are never out of hopes of victory, till the Janizaries are engaged and repulled. By this policy *Hannibal* gained several victories against the *Romans*: And to it the *Romans* owe theirs over the *Latines*. Use all indeavours to invite the people to Rebellion against him, by good usage, immunities, exemptions; or by building rampires and forts fit for defence and offence; wherein you will find excellent instructions in my memorialls for speed and cheapness, and in the work their best use when perfected, to subdue

due the forces, of a great estate; whereof *Cæsars* actions in *France* are an instance, as related in the *Commentaries*: And you may esteem the least declination of the *Ottoman* power, a great advantage to your affairs, by the opportunity it affords his suppressed subjects to endeavour the recovery of their lost liberties, which his tyranical government makes them willing to embrace, when invited by a fit occasion.

The solid strength of the Kingdom of *France* receives addition of power by the willingness of other Princes, (and especially the
 G 4 *Italians*)

Italians) jealous of our forces, to Assist that Crown against us: therefore let us consider next the best way of making war upon the *French*. Had they known to improve the taking of *Casab* or *Revolt* of *Sienna* to the best advantage, we had felt ere this by dear experience, how much the *Italians* are inclined to novelty; and the great benefit the *French* may obtain with inconsiderable charge in the wars of *Italy*: For though it cannot be doubted, but that the Government of the *French*, if possessed of those places we hold in *Italy*, would in a short time be

come

come more offensive and insupportable to the inhabitants, than ours: yet such is their itch of change, so great their jealousies of our forces in *Milan, Naples, and Sicily* that they throw open their Armes to receive any that promises to restore their liberty, which they think lost in the fetters of our power, in the places I have named. But 'tis your happiness, that by assaulting that King in his own dominions (which you can easily doe) you will infallibly force him to recall his forces from *Italy*, to defend *France*: And gladly imploy them to quench the fire
 G S kendled

kendled in his own house, whom he had commanded to burn yours. It hath been their maxime long, not to leave an Enemy behind them: it must be yours to winn, and fortifie some place of importance in their passage to *Italy*, which may either stop their farther march, or at least entertain their forces so long, till yours be in readines to receive them by defence, or stop them by diversion.

To this end, it was my design to build two or three forts between *Turine* and the *Alps*, of that Art and strength, that might deter the *French* from attempting *Italy* that way, by the difficulty

culty of reducing those places to their obedience at so great distance from their Country: But this (as other designs) was prevented by my employments else where: So that I propose it only, as worthy your consideration, and hasten to give you brief rules for your wars in *France*.

That King may be assaulted in his own Country two wayes, by taking some strong places upon the frontiers, or by entering the heart of his Dominions with a compleat Army, and making your self Master of the field. But the strength of his Towns and Castles
on.

on the borders, the vast expence, and tedious difficulties of Sieges, the constant charge and great Garrisons requisite to maintain and preserve them in your obedience, when taken; and the opportunities given him to Muster his forces, and make defence, before you can probably reduce the place you attaque; may induce you to wave that course, and embrace the latter: and the rather, for that you have the convenience of Arming a great deal sooner than he; And thrust your forces into the bowels of his Kingdom, before he can be in readiness to come

come into the field : And that his Country abounds so much with Victuals and other provision, that an Army cannot want in so great plenty : And needs only use its power to maintain it self by the spoils of the enemy. You cannot expect by one Assault, to break the force of so compact a Body as the Kingdom of *France* ; but think that expedition well made, wherein you become Master of a Limb, and bring some small part to your obedience ; if you make good your ground, and retain firmly what you gain by peicemeal, every step you make advances you further

ther towards the Conquest of the whole. This was *Cæsar's* method in subduing that Nation. When you have once got footing there, a thousand opportunities from the distraction of that state, by their divisions and animosities in matter of Religion, the ambition of the great ones, and other accidents, will present themselves for improvement of your interest. The Sun though he moves insensibly, doth compass the world in 24 houres. And common sense informs, you that the smallest particle taken from the lesser quantity, and added to the greater, Augments

ments the one, and diminishes the other : which I mind you of , that you may not be discouraged, though you cannot on the sudden overcome this Kingdom ; but persevere in the prosecution of your design upon this Assurance, that by gaining the parts, you will at last Master the whole.

If the French Kings motions give you cause to believe, that by the advantage of the season, and forwardness of the Country, he may enter *Italy* some moneths before your Army can arrive in *France* ; Make shew of early, and great preparations against *France*, to march thither

thither as soon as the season of the year will permit : And by this stratagem you will oblige him to use those forces for defence at home, which he designed for foreign Conquests : So jealous is he of that Kingdom ; So contrary is it to the Maxims of his Policy, to leave his frontiers unguarded with an Army, when threatened with hostility from abroad, or to expose his Kingdom to an invasion, in the absence of any considerable part of his forces.

When you have resolved on either of these courses of war with France, take heed of wavering from your choice,

choice, as a thing most destructive to your affairs: and avoyd it as a Rock shewed you by a Pilot, whose ship was split thereon. I entred *France* towards *Landrecy*, with full purpose to have advanced into the heart of the Kingdom, before the *Swissers* arrived to their ayd, but the altering of this resolution in my stay, to winne some Towns on the frontiers (which detained me longer than I expected, being deluded by the facility of reducing the first I attaiqued,) gave the King time enough to provide strength sufficient to encounter me; and proved so fatal in the consequence,

quence, that I was constrained by plain force to retire, and yield to conditions, which (to be free with you) served only for a Colour of retreat, without any advantage to my affairs.

Pursue your victories in *France* effectually, and with diligence: And having forced them to seek Ayds from abroad, fall on them afresh before the Auxiliaries Arive: And when the success answers not your expectation, repair your forces, and hold them so long in play, till the season of the year make them despair of any advantage to be made in *Italy* by your retreat:

treat : Rely not on the multitude, but choice of your men; and prefer a gallant, though small Army, before a numerous : and against *France* make special povision of strong Companys of foot to encounter their horse.

I will reiterate my advice against firing down with your forces before any place of strength that may require a long siege, unless invited by correspondence within, or some other particular advantage, that gives assured hopes of dispatch : and that not only for the reasons given before, but that it is a matter of extream difficulty, to maintain an Army

my

my long at a siege, where convenient room is not made for the Convoys. My rendezvous at *Marseilles*, frustrated my design against *Provence*, and opened the eyes of the French King to spy his advantage, by diversion in *Turine*; where he made war with security, forced me to retreat with great danger, gained credit with the States of *Italy* by the action, and had hazarded all the estates you hold there, had he known as well to use, as perform his undertakings.

The difficulty of recruiting your Armies in *Italy* by supplies from *Spain*, when
 requisite,

requisite, upon any misadventure; and the propensity of those States to Revolt from you, must incline you by assaulting *France*, to prevent that King from casting his thoughts to disturb you in *Italy*; rather than to be on the disadvantage of an after gain, in expelling him from thence: And assure your self, that States, and especially the *Italian*, have no affection but for their interest, and will stick to you, to their own prejudice or danger, but will be ready upon the least appearance of your declining, to espouse the quarrel of the prevailing

vailing party, and follow the fortune of the Conqueror. Bend all your force to recover *Sienna*, that other States may by that example, perceive and fear the danger of slighting your Authority, and intermeddling with strangers, to the prejudice of your affairs: And that you may by that means cut of the Correspondence between *France* and *Italy*.

Get perfect information of the affections, humours and interests of the persons in greatest favour and credit with the French King, and the competitors for great offices, and use

use the best means to gain the strongest parties to your devotion ; as the necessary and most excellent instruments to promote your designs. In alliances and treaties , Esteem the removal of the *French* from *Piedmont* , above millions of Crowns in Dower , or the most ample conditions in a league : And endeavour earnestly to induce them to a desuetude from Arms, and a forgetfulness of military exercise. And when an opportunity is offered to your advantage , lose it not : As to *Piedmont* I will repeat my advice for
re-

recovery of it ; and believe it from my experience , to be of more importance to your affairs, than if on the Flemish side you had bereaft the French King of a third part of his Kingdom.

Your interest in *Italy*, is the main Artery by which the pulse of all your power beats : And wherein lyes the greatest mystery of your Policy : therefore must your eyes be ever open that way, even to Jealousie : To preserve it the better , Use all devotion and kindness to the Pope and Apostlick See; Be courteous to all the Cardinals, Bishops,

Bishops, Prelats and other
 members of the Court,
 and ever ready to defend
 them, and the Catholique
 profession. In the Elec-
 tions of Popes, when all the
 competitors are worthy of
 the dignity; Strive not to
 advance one before the
 other: And never use any
 means indirect, unlawfull
 or unchristian, to prefer
 your friends or creatures
 to the Chair; but look up-
 on it as a sacred action to
 be left as the election of
Moses in the tent, to the
 disposal of the Holy Ghost.
 The expression of due re-
 spects attended, with the
 consideration of your Do-
 minions

minions situate in the midst
 of *Italy*, and other means
 in your power, as King
 of so many Countrys, and
 Patron of so many great
 Ecclesiastical benefices, will
 infallibly procure you the
 friendship of the greatest,
 and make the best amongst
 them dependants upon you,
 without loss or hinde-
 rance to Princes of your
 quality, though the Pope
 were elected by the votes
 of that party, who de-
 clared for another. But
 let me enioyn you to pre-
 fer alwayes the universal
 good of Christendom be-
 fore your private benefit,
 though the Examples of
 others

others seem to invert the
 Counsel I give you. As
 the Dominions of the
 Church, are the center
 of *Italy*; So, if *Sienna*
 were recovered, they would
 be surrounded with your
 Territories to the greater
 convenience for your de-
 signs, and most commodi-
 ous for an influence over
 the Court of *Rome*: If men
 of Piety sit in the Chair,
 they will in a religious ten-
 derness of promoting Chari-
 ty among Christians, both
 court and desire your love:
 if the Popes be worldly
 minded, and study more
 their pleasures and interest,
 then the duties of their
 H a office

office, (which God forbid) they will be glad to preserve his friendship, whom they dare not displease. Stick not to powre the treasure of your bounties on that Court, in obliging the Cardinals, Bishops, and other Prelates, by dignities and preferments in your several Dominions; but especially them who are most intimate with the Pope, as most useful in matters of grace and favour to be obtained from the Holy-Chair: though you are to rely most on the Justice and equity of your Demands, and the affection of his Holiness. The impressions of religion

gion are so deep in the hearts of men, that nothing can prejudice your affairs more, than to leave in their minds an opinion of your being disaffected to the Ministers of God: therefore if necessity force you to break with the Pope, be sure to clear your self from the imputation of the rupture, by making it appear, that the cause of unkindness proceeded not from you, but from the other side: And that the course you take is not voluntary, but upon indispensable obligations of security and self preservation. In matters re-

lating to a Generall Councel,
conform your self to the
determinations of the Ho-
ly-Chair; and whatever
happens, let the world still
perceive your Religion is
unchangeable.

As to the *Protestants*, you
are sure of Peace with
them, while you think fit
not to break the League;
by reason of their fear-
fullness to engage in war,
though no assistance is to
be expected from them for
the reasons I have shewed.
And that jealousie, and
apprehensions of ill from
the increase of power, will
have greater influence in
their counsells, than any
other

other considerations. Their long neglect of military discipline, and disuse of Arms, their letting slip so many brave opportunities, the distractions of this age afforded them to Aggrandize their estate, may invite you to assault them; and their custome of making advantage of their weak neighbours miseries, may in a manner justify it. A slothfull disposition and moderate prosperity, have inclined them to presume, their greatness may be maintained by ordinances of peace and sober rules of the Long robe.

robe. But if you set upon them briskly, and pursue your first impression with Celerity to prevent their banding with other Princes; their unskilfullness in war, the weakness of their state, and the confusions that will certainly attend their fear of your Arms, will give you opportunity to compass some great exploit before they awake out of sleep, or resolve what to spend, what friends to trust, what Leaders to employ, or resume their old discipline for war. The convenience

ence they have to at-
 taque you in *Naples*, and
 the inclinations of that
 people, to prefer their
 mild, and more civil
 Government, and kind
 usage of the inhabitants,
 before yours; will oblige
 you to get the start of
 them by carrying the war
 to their doors, and pre-
 vent their attempts against
 your Dominions, by force-
 ing them to provide for
 defence of their own:
 Let it be your care to
 powre your forces into
 the center of their state
 as the way to make
 your self master of the field,
 it being impossible for
 them

them to put Garrisons into
 their places of strength,
 which they will first se-
 cure, and at the same
 time to keep the field:
 And in the mean while
 the defect of Garrisons,
 Leaders provisions or for-
 tifications, the factions
 and particular discontents
 of persons interested, will
 certainly afford you the
 occasion, to possess your self
 of some of their places
 of strength; which will be
 a good step to your
 further progress, especi-
 ally if by your Prince-
 ly and Gracious deport-
 ment, you encourage
 others to submit to your
 obedi-

obedience, by granting the
 Burghers, Captains and Sol-
 diers reasonable Articles,
 and so good conditions,
 that they will have no
 just cause to complain of
 the change of Masters.
 When you are Master
 of the field, all places
 that are not strong will
 presently fall into your
 hands ; which will force
 them into the field to en-
 deavour the stopping of
 your prevailing Arms
 by battail , wherein the
 greatness of your strength,
 and expert skill of your
 Soldiers, may give you as-
 sured hopes of victory
 over their new trayned
 troops

troops and raw Companies.

Let no pretence of friendship, or professions of affection from any Prince of *Italy*, move you to permit him to aggrandize his state; but be perswaded by my advice, to keep them all within their due bounds, upon this infallible Ground, that they are true only to their interest, and will no further adhere to you, then while it is for their turn, but will appear against you, upon any probable hope to better their fortune. The divisions, and partialities of *Italy*, make it a matter of great
difficul-

difficultie for you to preserve in your obedience the States you enjoy there, their designs, and most ardent desires, being bent to establish a Duke at *Mil-lain*; and a King at *Naples*, which may hold of no superiour, but reign Sovereign and Independant, as the means to weaken your encroaching power, and to free themselves from foreign servitude: And because they may upon all occasions treat on even terms, with such petty Princes; and that the bonds of a common interest, which is the surest obligation, would ingage

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a King of *Naples*, and a Duke of *Milan*, in a forreign league of Friendship with them, against forreign force, as involved in the like danger, with other States of *Italy*, of being opprest from abroad; whereas the inequality between them and you, is such that they neither dare engage in a war against you, for fear of losing the remains of their liberty, and making their estates victims to your wrath; nor enter into a league, to add strength to your power, which they desire to see weakned, and increase your Authority, whereof they

they are already jealous. The Pope and *Venetians* are great promoters of the project I have told you; but the remedy is obvious to prevent their designs: for if you maintain your reputation, by a constant Activity in Armes, hold good intelligence in every State; Imploy able Ministers to the Court of *Rome*; make use of the divisions and factions of those Princes to your advantage, prevent combinations amongst them, to your prejudice; keep out the French King from *Italy*; and when the waters are troubled discreetly use the Golden-
book

hook ; you may conclude
your affairs safe on that side.

These observations most
dear Son I leave with you,
as Rules for your conduct
in Peace and War ; And
though the circumstances of
things may vary , yet the
reason of my advice , re-
maining the same, will be
useful for direction in most
occurrences of State. And
now by the duty and gra-
titude you owe me your
Father , your Prince and
Benefactor , I charge you
strictly , and constantly to
observe with Reverence ,
the Laws of God and con-
science, to regard them as
the controll of your reason-
ings

nings, and Rules of indispensable obligation in all your actions, that no design, no act, no stratagem can be just or worthy a Prince but what is consonant to them: And amidst the Majestick Glories of a mighty Prince, forget not your self to be a man, and that the prerogative of your Crowns exempts you from the jurisdiction of those tribunals, where bribery may corrupt, affections blind, ignorance mislead, fear overawe, or impotence frustrate the judgement given, to reserve your cause to the dreadfull examination and sentence of that Judge, who

who is Justice it self, and
 cannot be deceived; who
 for the sins of Princes
 gives their dominions to
 whom he pleases without
 other respects to their
 Crowns, than to aggravate
 their offence in abusing the
 privileges of their States
 to the contempt of his
 Justice and presuming to
 commit such transgressions
 against his Laws, which they
 would not permit to be
 done by their Subjects
 against theirs. And remem-
 ber you are to account to a
 Judge, from whom there
 is no appeal, who inflicts
 heaviest punishments on
 wicked Princes, as immedi-
 ate

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ate offenders against his Majesty, and therefore most fit to be made examples of Just Severity ; as Good Kings are the immediate objects of his care and providence, partake most of his bounty and favours, and are in affection no less then in dignity, nearer to God than other mortals.

F I N I S.

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